Interface

Zimbabwe in the 80's — challenges and threats

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The problems confronting Zimbabwe during the next decade are fundamentally those of a developing country:

- a phenomenal population growth;
- the drift away from the land and consequent pressure on the urban environment;
- the need to create jobs for a rapidly increasing number of new entrants into the labour market;
- the low level of literacy and hence lack of skills that can contribute to economic growth;
- the need to attract capital and skilled manpower from abroad on a vast scale;
- the maintenance of stable government.

They are, however, seriously compounded by three factors specific to Zimbabwe today: the aftermath of war, tribal affiliations and cultural transition. War has aggravated the basic problems by dislocation of the economy, demographic disturbance, refugee repatriation, movement of people away from their home areas. It has left considerable bitterness which only time and wisdom on the part of the victors can mend. There may be further power struggles between individuals and parties, and people have been given expectations about what peace and independence under a black government would bring to them — which the politicians may find difficult to implement. All of this will militate against stability in government.

It is not my function to expand further on the political questions, and reference will only be made to some of them when this is necessary for the unfolding of my argument.

This also applies to the second special factor, the part that will be played by tribal loyalties and animosities in influencing the political struggle, which is too complicated a question to be dealt with here.

Cultural transition

The acculturation aspect must be discussed in some detail for it deeply affects the attitudes and ways of thinking of black Zimbabwians in coming to terms with what is expected of them in a Western type of society. Here a question must be raised about the future shape of the economy. To what extent will it deviate from free enterprise towards a centrally controlled system?

I personally believe that a free enterprise economy is more likely to produce the goods, services and individual wellbeing that people are looking for in the new society after independence, than are other systems, but other views may prevail.

Technologically the requirements will be the same for the two systems, or for whatever compromise between them is likely to evolve. Both need the development of high-level skills and the ability to acquire and apply scientific knowledge.

Attitudinally, however, there will be a vast difference in the values, motives, personality attributes that will be appropriate to either form of economy and government.

The traditional cultures of Southern Africa are, if anything, more attuned to a collectivist than to a competitive system. They are conformist societies, in which divergent thinking, initiative, innovative behaviour, are not encouraged. Custom is paramount, and there are effective ways of enforcing obedience, through a system of child rearing which moulds the individual to the social role custom expects him or her to fulfil. It relies on rituals that mark every important event in society and every stage through which the individual passes from the cradle to the grave.

There are many punitive sanctions for breaches of taboos. Exclusion from society and the displeasure of the ancestors who can make their presence felt through magical acts, are the most effective.

People used to this kind of conformist way of life are more likely to feel comfortable in an authoritarian society than in one which ideally encourages individual freedom. This may be one of the reasons why democratic institutions have so far not thrived in Africa and dictatorships or one-party states have usually ousted democratically elected governments.

There are other aspects of the personalities produced by traditional cultures which are handicaps in achieving Western style efficiency. These concern an attitude towards time, which in African cultures is something to be enjoyed, whereas to Western man it is something not to be wasted, for it means money. Closely allied to this is attitude towards the future. Traditionally African man lives in the present; Western man is always looking to what lies ahead, planning for it, doing something now that will bear fruit a number of years hence, or forestalling through action taken now a contingency that might arise in the future. In this respect both the free enterprise and the centrally controlled economies have the same requirement.

Another important difference concerns the sense of causality in African and Western culture. The former attaches much greater importance to spirituality than the latter and cause and effect relationships are therefore not seen in the same way in the two cultures. Animistic religion is a case in point, and if there are spiritual powers in everything, and these can be manipulated by ancestors, witches, persons who have some evil intent, then of course it is more difficult to maintain a sense of individual responsibility. These are some of the factors—and there are others—which are involved in the acculturation process.

Depending on how and where the individual has been brought up, he will have proceeded some way along the road to Westernization, but even in those who have apparently made it all the way, there may still be residuals that affect adjustment. An interesting study by a Kenyan who went to live in the United States — 'Child of Two Worlds' — gives a vivid account of the process and of its dilemmas.

It may of course be argued that Western civilization, no matter whether it pursues a capitalist, socialist or Marxist economy, provides a far from ideal social model. In Western democracies people are confronted with problems that pose a serious threat to their future wellbeing and which they seem to be incapable of solving - pollution, inflation, recurrent recessions, threats of war, a decline in moral standards, recourse to public violence to achieve private and political ends, and loss of confidence in the values that have so far sustained Western civilization. It is doubtful whether people in the Marxist states are better able to realize their potentialities. The existence of the Berlin wall to prevent defections to the West, the persistence of protest movements in Russia despite the Communist Party's draconian measures to suppress them, and the periodic military interventions in the satellite states to maintain the Marxist regimes, suggest

The time of troubles now being experienced by Western democracies may arise less from the shape of their economies than from Western civilization itself, which may be entering the final stages of its decline. We are powerless to alter the life cycle of a civilization, but we can do something to influence the course of social, economic and political events for the foreseeable future.

There is a better chance that some problems will be solved peacefully if one can make the economy more productive to ensure that poverty and inequality of opportunity will not create fertile soil for disaffection. I believe that the free enterprise system still offers the better option to this end. One appreciates that this system can no longer operate in its classical, ideological form of 'no Government involvement' in business.

Circumstances have made a measure of State control of the economy and of the conditions subject to which business is to be conducted, inevitable. What these controls and statutory regulations will be in the new Zimbabwe remains to be seen. Let us hope that they will not unduly restrict private enterprise and the entrepreneurial spirit. Judging by the statements made by Mr Mugabe, immediately after the election and his appointment as Prime Minister, it does not seem that the economy will be drastically refashioned.

Problems facing Zimbabwe

We now must take a closer look at the basic problems that confront Zimbabwe as a developing country, which were listed at the beginning of this article.

Population growth

Zimbabwe has one of the highest population growth rates in the world. At present it is about 3,6% per annum. A population of approximately 7 523 000 in 1980, will have grown to 10 715 000 in 1990 and 15 259 000 in 2000. There are some 1,3 million children under five years of age and 45% of the population is estimated to be under 15 years of age. It is obvious that this is going to impose

excessive demands on the ability of the economy to find jobs for and to feed this multitude.

Between 1973 and 1975, there was an average net gain of adult males in the age category 16-60, of 47 512, all needing jobs. The net additions are estimated to be 70 777 in 1985. In 1980, the total economically active population was estimated to be 2 448 000, in 1985 this will have grown to 2 824 000 and in 1990 to 3 277 000. (Clarke, D.G., 'Labour Conditions and Discrimination in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)'. International Labour Office, 1978.) On the assumption that between 1975 and 1985, employment in the wage sector will grow by 5% and that a million people will move from rural to urban areas, the Whitsun Foundation estimated that 700 000 jobs would have to be created during this period. (Ref. A Programme for National Development.)

Any measures now to curb the birth-rate cannot bear fruit for many years to come. No economy, however productive, can go on expanding at the rate required to absorb every year so many new entrants into the labour market. A programme to reduce the birth-rate should therefore be a first priority. There is a prevalent belief that birth-rates correct themselves as the standard of living rises. This may be so, but there is no prospect that the standard of living will rise significantly as long as the birth-rate remains what it is at present while death-rates are reduced by better hygiene and health services. We should take a close look at the measures taken in China to hold population growth in check and introduce family planning methods that have proved successful elsewhere, without offending religious beliefs.

The propaganda that all this is a Western ploy to retain power by limiting black numbers should be vigorously opposed.

Urbanization

All developing countries experience a population drift from rural to urban areas. This generally leads to overcrowding in the cities and the growth of shanty towns on the cities' borders. In a number of instances it has been completely beyond the capacity of the local authorities to provide the barest minimum of services, let alone housing, for the influx.

Mexico City provides a telling example. Within a period of 40 years, the population has grown from 1,5 million to more than 13 million. Living conditions are abhorrent for a large number of the immigrants, who find their shelter and make their living, such as it is, in the City's refuse dumps. At the present rate it will reach more than 32 million by the year 2000, more than the projected size of London, Paris and Rome combined. (Time-Life — International, 1979; 'Mexico City'). Similar communities are found near other Latin American cities like Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Caracas.

Here in Africa the same phenomenon can be observed. In the Republic of South Africa, influx control has prevented much of this human misery, but at the cost of certain human freedoms which have brought the country into disrepute. It is a moot question, depending on one's ideological point of view, which is the lesser evil, the limitation of freedom of movement and some labour exploitation and family disruption that goes with it, or living conditions that are an insult to human dignity and a breeding ground for a number of sociological evils.

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How will Zimbabwe solve this problem, which will unquestionably arise when a black government is in power? It will be under great pressure to realize the expectations that the prospect of independence has generated. That the mirage of jobs and better living in the cities than can be provided in the countryside forms part of these expectations cannot be doubted. Country life and subsistence farming as it is known to-day hold very little attraction for people well aware of the advantages that paid work and the city lights can bring, but no black government is likely to risk keeping them there by statutory compulsion. Moreover, the carrying capacity of the tribal lands, 42% of the national total, is too low to accommodate the current 58% of the population, let alone the projected increase. About 70% of the land is agriculturally marginal and mainly suited for low intensity livestock farming. The area's contribution to the GDP is estimated to be between 8% and 10% only. With a population growth rate of 3,6%, food production is increasing at the rate of 1%, and food has to be imported from other parts of the country. (Whitsun Foundation, 'A Programme for National Development', 1975.)

Because farming lends itself to labour intensive production, it could, however, provide a partial answer to the employment problem. It is true that in developed countries fewer and fewer people make their living on the land. The United States has become the granary of the world by, *inter alia*, highly mechanized farming methods which require hardly any labour.

It would be a great mistake for Zimbabwe to employ this high technology farming. There are many ways in which a variety of trades can be linked with a more modest exploitation of the land to yield a much better standard of living than is at present enjoyed by the rural population. Some redistribution of land will nevertheless be necessary, for even with greatly improved farming methods and better financial and other resources, the quality of the land and the climatic conditions are such that the present Tribal Trust Lands will be unable to support the growing population. This will presumably be a priority consideration for the new government but the remedy could be hazardous. Unless farming efficiency can be kept up — not necessarily in terms of output per capita of those employed, but overall — food production will decline, as it has done in other newly independent African countries, and this could also apply to other cash crops.

Creating job opportunities

Maintaining people on the land will not, of course, remove the need to create a sufficient number of jobs elsewhere. Once again, high technology will have to be resisted. The long period of coping with sanctions, of making do without capital from abroad, has probably been beneficial in one way in that it has encouraged the utmost use of local resources, both human and material, the development of innovative flair and the growth of a diversified secondary industry. This should provide a sound launching-pad for the forward thrust that will become possible when the country's manpower can return to productive activities and a normal flow of capital and trade can be restored. Planning must, however, be deliberately directed towards solving

unemployment productively, rather than to the restoration of high profitability to existing enterprises, or the creation of desk jobs in a government bureaucracy.

Development of skills

Getting agriculture, industry and commerce into high gear will not be possible if the necessary skills, both operative and managerial, are in short supply. Only 30 black higher diploma graduates in agriculture are produced annually on the average. (Whitsun Foundation, op. cit.). In 1976 a mere 14,8% of the total number of registered apprentices was black. (Clarke, D.G. op. cit.). Judging by the output of graduates from secondary schools (less than 5% of the original Grade 1 intake) those qualified for higher level skilled, supervisory, executive and professional posts must be minimal.

Basic to the development of any skills, even the

humblest ones, is literacy, and, as one moves up the job ladder, ample opportunity to obtain general education up to the level of one's potential. For the majority of blacks, adequate schooling still seems to be out of reach. It is the educational status of adults, those now in the labour market, that is of most immediate concern. In an article by Roger Riddell, published by the Catholic Institute for Internal Relations, as much as 67% of the black electorate voting in the internal settlement election was said to be illiterate. This included the functionally illiterate, those who had five years or less of schooling in the past and may have reverted to illiteracy. The lowest estimate was 37% who had not been to school at all. Figures for those currently at school would be unreliable since by August 1979 guerillas had forced 1 545 primary schools and 63 secondary schools to close. The drop-out rate from schooling is excessive. In 1975, the proportions completing a 7-year primary course, entering secondary school, completing a 4-year secondary course and a 2-year higher secondary course were respectively: 54,5%; 9,9%; 4,0%; and 0,3% of the initial Grade I intakes. (Dorsey B.J., 'The Employment of Black School-Leavers and its Implication for Curriculum Development'.)

It is evident that the country will face a severe shortage of people who can occupy or be trained for higher level positions. But it is also the quality of the schooling that needs to be considered. What proportion of the teachers is properly qualified? What teaching methods are adopted in the schools? What are the retarding effects of a poor knowledge of English as the medium of instruction, both on the part of teachers and pupils?

Citing our South African experience, we find that too often more reliance is placed on memory than on reasoning in black schools, and that as a result, insight into the nature of problems and their solution is lacking. This means that knowledge cannot always be applied from the specific to the general case. When methods of learning have been fixed in the course of years of school education, it is difficult to get students to adopt a different approach in university or advanced technical training courses. Many students also find difficulty in expressing themselves in English, both in speech and writing, and lack of reading facility handicaps them in the use of text books and ancillary reading.

School education tends to get caught in a vicious circle. Teachers-to-be, as a product of the current system, tend to perpetuate it when in due course they face their classes. The only way in which to effect change is to concentrate on the quality of instruction in the teacher-training colleges, to provide there whatever remedial measures may be necessary, to persuade the best products of the secondary schools to take up teaching as a career.

There may be a strong case for large-scale subsidized immigration of teachers from English-speaking countries to get school education in Zimbabwe to an effective quality level. It is difficult to see how the backlog in literacy can ever be eliminated without this infusion of teaching resources from outside. It may be a very profitable form of helping a developing country to arrange for teachers to go out on contract for a period of some years. Monetary aid is not always wisely used, whereas the availability of an ample supply of good teachers cannot fail to produce results.

Capital investment

That a renewal of capital investment in Zimbabwe deserves an equally high priority requires hardly any argument. Here too there is a vast backlog as a result of sanctions and the circumstances of war. I refer to investment rather than financial aid in the form of loans. The latter can, of course, be useful, particularly to help repair the damage done by war, and to get displaced persons back on their feet. But growth is more dependent on money that stays in the country, that builds up the infrastructure, that commits itself to the establishment or expansion of industries.

In South Africa it has been estimated that to create jobs in the homelands, from R4 000 to R12 000 per job is required, depending on its type and location. Considering the vast numbers of jobs that need to be created, and assuming that an intermediate technology will be established, the immediate capital requirements will run into many millions. The Whitsun Foundation's Programme for National Development Report estimated that at 1974 prices, gross fixed investment needed to create one job was \$8 000, or an investment of \$560 million per annum for the next 10 years to meet employment needs. To meet this target, a real growth rate of about 8% and a savings rate of about 19% of GDP are deemed necessary.

Maintenance of stable government

This is where the establishment of a stable government, with a clearly stated economic policy, becomes of such critical importance. Western countries and institutions like the World Bank have become very cautious about financial aid to African developing countries. Their indebtedness runs into billions; the cost of oil can only aggravate this situation. More and more of the national income has to be devoted to meet the interest charges, and the chances of their ever being able to repay these loans are becoming increasingly remote. One cannot expect investment by private enterprise under such conditions and readiness to invest becomes even smaller when the political regime is also unstable.

Fortunately, Zimbabwe's foreign debt is small, and its reputation so far for financial probity is very high. But an entirely new chapter is opening now. There will be many new people at the political and administrative helm. We can only hope that they will be given a chance to get on

with the job, without renewed war or the civic commotion that has rendered so many African regimes unstable.

The role of business

This brief and inevitably superficial sketch of the immediate future as I see it, has some implications for business people with a special interest in manpower and human productivity. Many of the problems to which I have referred cannot be directly solved by business. But there are some aspects which do particularly concern industry, and in respect of which action can be taken not only for the benefit of the individual enterprise, but for the well-being of the community generally.

One that particularly concerns business managers, is how to raise the competence level of employees, and how to increase the numbers suitable to take up higher-level skilled, supervisory, and managerial posts. Training is the shibboleth, but how many training schemes are actually successful, and what is the reason for failures?

Ethnic differences

I do not wish to raise the question here of an ethnic difference in learning ability, in the type of skills with which people differing in ethnic origin are genetically endowed.

Scientific opinions are divided on this question, with the majority tending to the view that culture and other environmental influences are responsible for most of the differences that are actually observed. I consider this problem to be incapable of solution by any scientific means at present at our disposal, because we can control neither the genetic nor the environmental factors, and because so far no measuring instruments have been devised that are equally fair for different cultural groups. For occupational purposes, the existence or non-existence of genetic differences is irrelevant, partly because so much can be achieved by manipulating relevant environmental circumstances such as nutrition, child rearing practices and scholastic education, but mainly because there is a vast overlap which means that there will be more than sufficient people who can be trained to fill high level jobs.

Improving quality of education

That there are major educational deficiencies that affect competence has already been demonstrated, and business should know what they are and what to do about them. Because the causes are partly within the homes, partly within the schools, there is not much business can do that will change the situation in the short term. To improve the educational quality of future entrants into the labour market, there is a strong case for business to help education financially, not by bursaries which, however valuable they may be to individuals, make no difference to the available facilities, but by funding the building of schools, as has been done by TEACH in South Africa, by financing the equipment of laboratories, the purchase of teaching aids, the stocking of libraries, and sponsoring the immigration of teachers.

Vocational and in-company training

The more immediately useful approach is either to provide in-company training or to combine with other enterprises in establishing vocational training facilities, for example, for artisans or laboratory technicians. The success

of such schemes will partly depend on an awareness of the nature of the handicaps with which the learners enter such courses. At the lowest level, literacy courses may be necessary. At all levels, it will be desirable to improve a knowledge of English. Consideration has to be given to the background knowledge the learner possesses. One may be able to train him to do this or that, but to give him an understanding of what he is doing, and why he is doing it, is quite another matter. Knowing something more about the whole field and its subject matter is therefore likely to be useful. Next, methods must be devised which will help him to adopt a more intelligent attitude towards the learning task. This requires a good deal of competence in teaching methods on the part of the trainer: how to obtain the necessary training for this task is a question I cannot answer as I do not know what facilities are available.

Considerations for successful training

It is essential that trainees should be selected for a course in respect of basic potentialities to cope with it, interest in the job or occupation for which the course is designed, and motivation to improve their qualifications. Aptitude tests, a properly constructed attitude scale, and an interview should prove useful.

If the results of training do not always bear fruit, the fault may not lie either with the trainee or the trainer, but in a variety of organizational factors. Has the training need been properly thought out, and are the content and nature of the course relevant to the need? Has the course been evaluated on its adequacy, and have the causes for inadequacy been identified? Are employees sent on course on principle, because it happens to be their turn, without any regard for their need or motivation? Nothing could be more futile. Are those trained sent back to their jobs, without any indication when or whether they will be moved to the tasks for which they have ostensibly been trained, and will there be a pay increase after training? What chance have they got to put into practice what they have learned in whatever job they return to? Are their supervisors in agreement with the trainees on what should be done and how? These are only some of the circumstances that can cause a training course to miscarry.

Personality factors important in training

Of particular importance is training for tasks involving personality factors: human relations, initiative, responsibility, supervisory ability, leadership. This is the area where cultural differences are likely to play an important part. The way people see the nature and function of authority, for instance, is very much a cultural matter. In traditional societies, authority attaches to maleness, kinship, position, tribal rank, age and such occupational roles as herbalist. The authority attaching to a supervisory or managerial position is something quite different. When blacks move into formerly white positions and acquire the authority attaching to these posts, it may take some time before subordinate blacks recognize this, and before the incumbent know how to use their powers. The black supervisor may be subject to intimidation or retaliation for an unpopular disciplinary action. This could undermine his authority. Until blacks are brought up in an environment where Western values are fully

understood and practised in everyday relations — and here the home environment and parental attitudes are particularly important — it is unlikely that there will be complete identification with Western codes; their impelling or restraining power will not become an inherent part of the individual's character.

I am not enthusiastic about behaviour modelling. It takes no account of personality factors. It teaches the individual what to do and how to do it, without giving him insight into the reason for doing it. He acquires a conditioned reaction to a specific situation. But rapidity of change is a feature of our society, and this will apply particularly to business in Zimbabwe during the 1980's. Managerial practices and attitudes will therefore need constant adaptation, and this can only be done effectively if one understands what the task is all about.

Developing leadership potential

Leadership training poses a particularly difficult problem. Although I do not believe that leaders are born and not made, certain potentialities must be present if leadership training is to get anywhere at all. It is not easy to diagnose these attributes in young people of one's own culture, and it becomes a good deal more difficult if one has to do this cross-culturally. I am again assuming that we need the sort of leaders that have proved successful in the Western type of business environment, people who command the respect and support of their subordinates, who understand team work, but who can take and accept responsibility for their own decisions; they should be consistent in thought, mood and action, be immune from favouritism and hostility, and be capable of keeping a step ahead of subordinates in anticipating contingencies and planning future action. These requirements do not come so easily to blacks because the pattern is not indigenous in traditional African cultures, and their roles so far, and hence their expectations, have been those of subordinates. They have infrequently been required to lead whites. It is not possible to drill people in the exercise of leadership. Leadership is a manifestation of personality, which develops in a particular social context. It is primarily to the community that we must look to generate leadership potential and this means that we need a much closer integration of the social lives of white and black than has hitherto been possible. Unless people grow up in basically the same cultural environment, they will never fully share the ethical codes and values on which the conduct of leaders must ultimately be based.

But business can do something to accelerate the process. I have a scheme in mind to bring young people of both races together in a development programme that would start with nominated contingents, initially males only, after Form III. They would spend six weeks together in a camp or hostel during which their social interaction would be closely watched in a variety of situations. About twenty would thereafter be chosen to proceed further with the programme. They would be monitored during their next school year, and during the following long vacation they would come together again, this time in a communal project, and if funds were available, live in a kibbutz in Israel. The third stage after Form V would be a tour of Europe, the fountain-head of our Western civilization, to study its institutions and get

acquainted firsthand with its history and contemporary achievements. The final stint would be in Africa, devoted to a variety of simulation exercises. Throughout the whole programme they would be guided by specially selected mentors from the educational and business communities, who would evaluate, counsel, direct and instruct as required. Participation of both races is essential, not only because they have to learn to work together in future, but because white attitudes also require considerable modification if they are to be effective in the new society that we hope will come about in Zimbabwe. The learning will not be confined to one party only. I believe that business would reap a handsome return from financing a plan of the kind I have described.

Industrial relations

There is one further matter to which I must briefly refer. It concerns industrial relations. I expect that labour relations will change considerably in the next decade. Until now the management/labour position was predominantly a white-black dichotomy, inevitably coloured by race attitudes. Gradually this racial element will disappear; economic and political considerations and interests will determine relationships and conflicts, though it would be too much to expect that history will not leave an aftermath. It is to be hoped that the policies to be adopted in this new era will not only succeed in keeping out such irrelevances, but will also steer development towards cooperative goals and avoid the labour-management confrontations that mar industrial relations in Europe. Zimbabwe has had its share of bitter political conflicts. It cannot afford any in the labour field in the years that lie ahead.

Interface

Leadership for the 80's

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From a speech at the MBL graduation dinner, Johannesburg, 9 May 1980

During 1979 and early 1980 a climate of change which has no precedent was created in the Republic of South Africa. This climate was initiated by the Riekert and Wiehahn Reports, and the momentum of change was greatly increased by statements and actions of Mr P W Botha after his election as Prime Minister. His programmes dealing with the rationalization of Government, cooperation with the private sector, the development of a co-ordinated national strategy, and his envisaged Constellation of Southern African States, are only a few of the dramatic changes which have contributed to this climate in the Republic of South Africa.

At the same time, events in the international political and economic arenas such as the energy crisis, the weakness of the dollar and the increase in the gold price, have led to a strengthening of the South African economy. Furthermore, because of South Africa's mineral resources, especially gold, and its potential for relative independence with regard to liquid energy, the South African economy tends to become more favourable as the international economy becomes less favourable. This, together with the tax reforms and fiscal discipline introduced by Finance Minister Owen Horwood, has led to an economic optimism which has intensified the climate of change.

This climate of change has two consequences:

- Firstly, it has created expectations at both the national and international level.
- Secondly, and this is more important, it has created opportunities for both private and public sector leadership.

Expectations

As far as expectations are concerned, four groups can be distinguished.

Entrepreneurs expect a return to a higher degree of free enterprise in the economy. This means they expect less restrictive and protective legislation, less bureaucracy and thus more freedom in entrepreneurial decision-making. This in itself will bring about a greater challenge to leadership in the private sector during the 1980's. It will also set greater demands for leadership on the part of the public sector to satisfy the requirements of a freer economic environment, if the expectations of the entrepreneurs are to be met.

The black community expect change in both the socio/political and the economic arena. In the socio/political arena the expectations which have been created relate to some sort of participation in the legislative decision-making process of the country, both at national and at regional levels. Satisfying these expectations will be a major challenge to the political and governmental leaders in the country.

Economic expectations have also been created in the black community. They expect more and more equal employment opportunities, better and in many cases equal wages, less discrimination — certainly less statutory discrimination — more mobility and at the same time more stability in employment. A better standard of living is expected by all urban and even rural black communities. If these expectations are to be satisfied, dynamic leadership at all levels in the political arena as well as the public and private sectors is required.